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A TIME FOR ANSWERS

By Alan Lovell

TOMMY STEELE GOT MARRIED AND PRINCESS MARGARET AND TONY ARMSTRONG JONES RETURNED FROM THEIR HONEYMOON. TOGETHER WITH THE FINE WEATHER, THEY MADE GOOD COPY FOR LAST SUNDAY'S NEWSPAPERS.

There is more to it than the happy story of two young couples. Between them Tommy Steele and Princess Margaret have become symbols—personal examples of the truth of the cliché “You never had it so good.” Tommy Steele, the youngster from a working class home who has become the idol of millions. Princess Margaret, the girl from the most exclusive background of all, who has also won the affections of millions. The symbol of our democratic age, of the victory of youth, of ever increasing happiness.

Some weeks ago the Conservative Women's Conference called for a return to flogging as a punishment for crimes of violence. They were giving support to those Conservative MPs who have campaigned persistently for this. Crimes of violence are increasing. Juvenile delinquency is acknowledged as a serious problem. Committees sit and report to the Government on The State of Youth.

What kind of world is it? Is it the world of Princess Margaret and Tommy Steele or is it the world of the juvenile delinquent and the teenage thug?

Princesses and delinquents

What they represent are ways of escape from an unsatisfactory world to a dream world. Writing about the world of young people in the *New Left Review*, Ray Gosling said: “The haze that surrounds the life of the Boy is a fog of fear, and not the mist about to rise on a dazzling dawn of success. He lives in Birmingham, not Hollywood—a dead empire in a sunset world, yet still hopes that somehow an Eden will pull off the trick, SuperMac will open up those golden gates, and here, along the M.1, the orange trees will begin to blossom. There must be a lucky card somewhere, a permutation no one has found, a new body movement more appealing than the last. The man might come from Vernon's. The man might come from the theatrical agency. The cheque and the contract might be in his hand.”

Glamour and publicity

The Tommy Steele way to success is the respectable way. If it fails, there is always the other way. The way of the other heroes of the mass media—the criminal. This is the unrespectable way and it carries severe penalties in the case of failure. But it has all the glamour and publicity of the respectable way as a glance at the inside of the Sunday newspapers will soon show.

Tommy Steele and the juvenile delinquent, Princess



Idol of millions: Tommy Steele, the youngster from a working class home, got married last Saturday. A symbol of our democratic age or representative of a dream world?

life in your guts after all this boggering about, the army calls you up and you get shot to death. And if you're clever enough to stay out of the army you get bombed to death.”

Are we prepared to ask those questions and answer them. Or are we to go on making nice liberal noises and hoping that a Quaker prison Governor

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What kind of world is it? Is it the world of Princess Margaret and Tommy Steele or is it the world of the juvenile delinquent and the teenage thug?

Princesses and delinquents

In a sense it is the world of neither. Most of the youngsters in Britain are not Tommy Steeles or Princess Margarets. Neither are they juvenile delinquents and teenage thugs. But the delinquent and the rock star, the princess and the criminal are *representative*, they do speak for more than themselves.

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Glamour and publicity

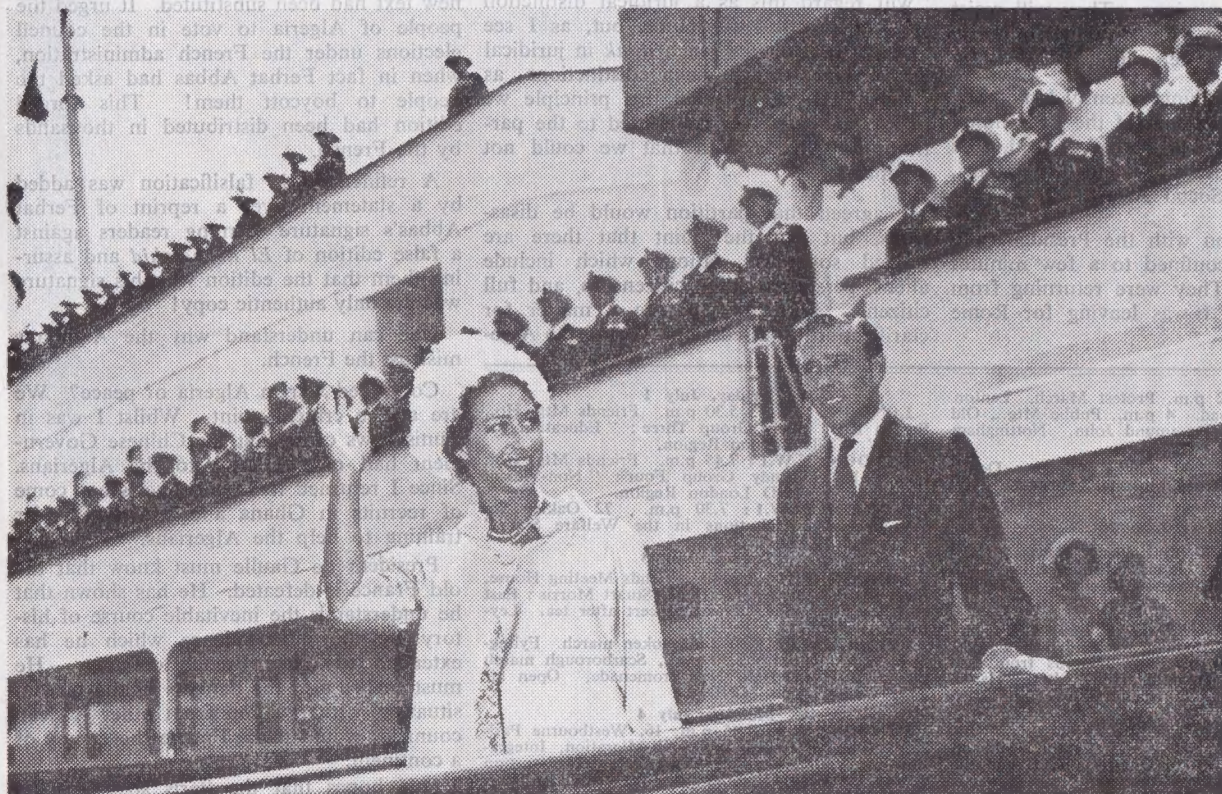
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Tommy Steele and the juvenile delinquent, Princess Margaret and the teenage thug, are then complimentary. They force us to ask questions about a society which Alan Sillitoe describes in his novel SATURDAY NIGHT AND SUNDAY MORNING: "Factories sweat you to death, labour exchanges talk you to death, insurance and income tax offices milk money from your wage packets and rob you to death. And if you're still left with a tiny bit of

Idol of millions: Tommy Steele, the youngster from a working class home, got married last Saturday. A symbol of our democratic age or representative of a dream world?

life in your guts after all this boggering about, the army calls you up and you get shot to death. And if you're clever enough to stay out of the army you get bombed to death."

Are we prepared to ask those questions and answer them. Or are we to go on making nice liberal noises and hoping that a Quaker prison Governor here, a progressive commission of enquiry there, will somehow solve all the problems for us?



Idol of millions: Crowds cheer, members of the crew line the decks as Princess Margaret and her husband return from their six-week Caribbean honeymoon. Is this the fulness or the emptiness of life?

SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY,

JUNE 26

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ALGERIA: CAN DE GAULLE MAKE PEACE?

By Fenner Brockway, MP Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

This article was written before M. Ferhat Abbas declared that he will lead an Algerian delegation to Paris.



IS there hope of peace in Algeria? General de Gaulle's broadcast to the French nation from Paris last week gives some ground for optimism.

The Algerian leaders in the past have been reluctant to accept his proposal for a "cease fire" because they believed it involved laying down their arms without any guarantee that the promised self-determination would be genuine.

They had reason for their fears. Elections in Algeria have been notoriously rigged by the French officials there, and General de Gaulle has spoken in varied voices, sometimes conciliatory, sometimes adamant.

He has, of course, been under conflicting pressures. France's financial position demands an end to the vast expenditure on the Algerian war and public opinion within France increasingly looks for peace. On the other hand, the French residents in Algeria and the officer class in the army threaten a rebellion if concessions are made.

Last week's speech, however, did suggest concessions. De Gaulle invited the Algerian leaders to come to Paris

to bring about an "honourable end" to the fighting,

to settle the question of what is to be done with their arms,

to guarantee the safety of those who have been fighting,

to allow the Algerian people a say in the pacifying process,

and to give all tendencies in Algeria, including the National Liberation Front, participation in the discussions determining the conditions of the self-determination plebiscite, the political campaigns which precede it, and its supervision.

"It is guaranteed," said de Gaulle, "that the choice will be completely free and that

I can record only that Mr. Abbas gave an impression of reasonableness and responsibility. I felt this was a man who would seize the opportunity of peace if it gave promise of freedom to his people.

Mr. Yazid and I are old associates in the cause of colonial freedom, dating back to the Puteaux conference against imperialism in 1948. It was good to greet him and be greeted by him.

These were brief encounters. I was able, however, to have a thorough discussion with Mr. Mehri in his office at the headquarters of the Provisional Government, a pleasant suburban villa in Tunis, protected by an armed guard. The exiled Algerian Ministers live dangerously, although in Tunisia they are surrounded by goodwill.

Personal referendum

Mr. Mehri spoke authoritatively, and I have no doubt he reflected the views of his President and Government. Indeed, his statement was subsequently reproduced in the Algerian organ. His words can be accepted as official.

He emphasised the Algerian desire for peace, but insisted that the army could not be expected to lay down their arms without guarantees regarding the terms and conditions of the plebiscite governing self-determination.

"It does not appear to us," he said (remember this was before the Paris broadcast), "that President de Gaulle has offered self-determination to the nation. He has offered it to individuals. He has told the residents of Algeria, including the French, that they may choose between three types of citizenship. They may decide to be French citizens, to enjoy the dual citizenship of France and Algeria, or to become

rian Provisional Government accept a "go-between" to try to establish a basis of understanding with de Gaulle?

"Certainly," said Mr. Mehri; "but many have offered mediation and have not been encouraged by the French President." He listed Governments which had volunteered their services without result.

But Mr. Mehri wished me luck in any new effort. I had in mind respected English figures who have a regard for the French people but who also respect liberty, or perhaps representatives of the United Nations acting unofficially.

It seems to me that the President's Paris declaration makes such an effort to bring understanding more possible, though it would have to be done behind the scenes because de Gaulle's sense of national prestige resents external pressure. It may be that by the time this article is published steps towards negotiation may have been begun.

One can understand Algerian scepticism and suspicion. Realistically the leaders in Tunis must take into account the recalcitrance of the powerful French settlers and the army brass hats in Algeria. Can de Gaulle control them?

They also have very much in mind the methods to which the French have descended in the war, particularly officially authorised torture. Mr. Mehri showed me a less cruel example, but nevertheless despicable.

The Algerians publish a well-produced 12-page newspaper, *El Moudjahid*, illustrated and printed in red and white. Mr. Mehri gave me a copy, including articles on Khrushchev's visit to Paris, the all-African conferences at Accra and Conakry, South Africa, and the independence declarations of colonies in the French Community.

French forgery

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SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Portobello or Golborne Rd. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Helpers for two hours shifts are needed. Apply to Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

SUNDAYS

GLASGOW: 8.15 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd. Open-air meeting.

LONDON, N.W.3: 11.30 a.m. Whitestone Pond. Open Air Meeting. Hampstead CND.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Weekend work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Lane (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

DIARY

Friday, June 24

LONDON, N.W.1: 5.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Euston Road. Study Group Three: "Education for Peace." CND London Region.

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Euston Road. Study Group Four: "Non-Violent Resistance." CND London Region.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster. "Stop the War in Algeria." Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP, Claude Bourdet, John Horner and others. Movement for Colonial Freedom.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3—5 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Business meeting. Discussion to be opened by Mr. I. A. Sandapen. Visitors welcome. Universal Religion—Pacifist Fellowship.

Saturday, June 25

WARLEY: 2.30 p.m. Institutional Church, Pound Rd. Annual Area Garden Party. West Midlands Area PPU.

to settle the question of what is to be done with their arms,

to guarantee the safety of those who have been fighting,

to allow the Algerian people a say in the pacifying process,

and to give all tendencies in Algeria, including the National Liberation Front, participation in the discussions determining the conditions of the self-determination plebiscite, the political campaigns which precede it, and its supervision.

"It is guaranteed," said de Gaulle, "that the choice will be completely free and that observers from the entire world will have entire freedom to observe it."

Fair offer

This has the appearance of a fair offer. I anticipate that the reply of the Algerian Provisional Government will depend upon the "tendencies in Algeria" to be represented at the discussions. They will resist any over-weighting of the French minority (one million among ten millions).

When I was in Tunis recently I met Mr. Hachet Abbas, President of the Provisional Government, Mr. Mohamed Yazid, the Minister of Information, and Mr. Mehri, the Minister of Social Affairs.

My conversation with the President and Mr. Yazid was confined to a few minutes at the airport. They were returning from Morocco just as I was leaving for Rome and London.

emphasised the Algerian desire for peace, but insisted that the army could not be expected to lay down their arms without guarantees regarding the terms and conditions of the plebiscite governing self-determination.

"It does not appear to us," he said (remember this was before the Paris broadcast), "that President de Gaulle has offered self-determination to the nation. He has offered it to individuals. He has told the residents of Algeria, including the French, that they may choose between three types of citizenship. They may decide to be French citizens, to enjoy the dual citizenship of France and Algeria, or to become Algerian citizens. That is a personal referendum, not a national referendum."

I smiled. How typical this was of French political argument: always they insist on theory! Mr. Mehri read my thoughts. He smiled, too.

"You Anglo-Saxons," he commented, "will regard this as a juridical distinction without practical substance, but, as I see you appreciate the French *think* in juridical terms and regard such distinctions as crucial. If we accepted this principle we might find ourselves committed to the partition of Algeria, and that we could not accept."

I agreed that partition would be disastrous, but put the point that there are unified sovereign nations which include aliens, persons of dual citizenship, and full citizens. It seemed to me a matter for clarification by discussion. Would the Alge-

methods to which the French have descended in the war, particularly officially authorised torture. Mr. Mehri showed me a less cruel example, but nevertheless despicable.

The Algerians publish a well-produced 12-page newspaper, *El Moudjahid*, illustrated and printed in red and white. Mr. Mehri gave me a copy, including articles on Khrushchev's visit to Paris, the all-African conferences at Accra and Conakry, South Africa, and the independence declarations of colonies in the French Community.

French forgery

Then he handed me a second copy which at first glance appeared to be exactly the same: the same type and lay-out, the same illustrations and headings, the same main articles. But there was one difference.

On the middle pages of both was a message from Ferhat Abbas. Same type, same heading. But in the second copy a new text had been substituted. It urged the people of Algeria to vote in the council elections under the French administration, when in fact Ferhat Abbas had asked the people to boycott them! This forged edition had been distributed in thousands by the French.

A refinement in falsification was added by a statement over a reprint of Ferhat Abbas's signature warning readers against a false edition of *El Moudjahid* and assuring them that the edition with his signature was the only authentic copy!

One can understand why the Algerians mistrust the French.

Continued war in Algeria or peace? We are at the critical point. Whilst I was in Tunis news came that the Chinese Government had offered arms to the Algerians. Since I returned to London news has come of recruits in Ghana and Morocco under training to help the Algerians.

President de Gaulle must know that the old France is defeated. He has shown that he understands the inevitable course of history by the independence which he has extended to other French colonies. He must realise also the dangers of the present situation. Intervention from other African countries would make France the enemy of a continent.

One hopes that the Paris speech really means the opening of the door to peace.

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NOTTINGHAM: 2 p.m. Protest March. Lenton Rec. Gd., Derby Road. 4 p.m., Public Mtg., Old Market Sq. Chair: Rosamund John. Nottingham CND.

BATTLE, Sussex: 2.30 p.m. "Tinkers Dell," Crowhurst Lane. Garden Meeting. Speaker: Sybil Morrison. Hastings PPU.

Sunday, June 26

LONDON, N.1: 3.30 p.m. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd. Antony Bates, "Imagination, and William Blake." Universal Religion. Pacifist Fellowship.

Saturday and Sunday, June 25-26

SHAFESBURY: Campaign weekend, leaflet raids, open air and indoor meetings. Details from Ted Berrow, Hillcrest, Windmill Hill, Alton, Hants. Please come and help. S. Region CND.

Tuesday, June 28

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, off Victoria St. Study Group One: "NATO and the Alliances." CND London Region.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

Wednesday, June 29

LONDON, S.W.2: 7.30 p.m. 41 Kildoran Rd. Group Meeting. Clapham PPU.

Friday, July 1

LONDON, N.W.1: 5.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Euston Rd. Study Group Three: "Education for Peace." CND London Region.

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Euston Rd. Study Group Four: "Non-Violent Resistance." CND London Region.

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m. 72 Oakley Sq. Voluntary Organisations in the Welfare State. Frank Judd. IVS.

Sunday, July 3

LONDON, E.11: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Road. Garden Meeting. Stuart Morris: East and West Germany. Short concert after tea. Leytonstone PPU.

FYLINGDALE: 9.30 a.m., token march. Fylingdale to Cloughton. 2.30 p.m., Scarborough march assemblies Floral Hall, Nth Promenade. Open air mtg. Castle Dykes. CND.

Monday, July 4

LONDON, W.2: 7.45 p.m. 16, Westbourne Park Road (Porchester Rd. end). "Migration, Integration and You." Speaker, Eddie Burke (Immigration Officer for High Commissioner, West Indies). Porchester PPU.

Saturday, July 9

BIRMINGHAM: 3—5.30 p.m. Birmingham International Centre, John Bright St., opp. Alexandra Theatre. Films for Peace. Birmingham Joint Pacifist Committee.

Asian music

INTEREST GROWING IN STUDY AND PERFORMANCE

THE extent to which the Asian Music Circle has grown since its foundation in 1953 is shown in the current programme of the British section.

This lists concerts being held in London, Birmingham, Brighton, Bristol, Cambridge, Leicester, Manchester, Oxford and Sheffield, each of which now boasts its own Asian Music Circle with a local secretary and in many cases very distinguished presidents.

The Asian Music Circle has for its main object the fostering, appreciation and study of the music and dances of all Asian countries, and its rapid growth and development is a tribute to the single-mindedness of its founder and director, Ayana Deva Angadi. He has been negotiating to bring to Britain distinguished musicians and dancers from India, Pakistan, Iran, Indonesia and other countries.

As soon as financial circumstances become favourable the Circle hope to produce their own quarterly magazine. A proposal is being considered to include African music and dances among the Circle's activities. "In that case we may have to call ourselves Asian-African Music Circle" says a notice sent out to the members.

Court action over 'Ban the Bomb' leaflet

From a Correspondent.

SEVEN members of the Scottish Council for Nuclear Disarmament who distributed ban the bomb leaflets

APPEALS RESISTANCE



THE Peace Pledge Union Central London Group, which meets at Dick Sheppard House on the third Tuesday of each month, has been involved in a series of discussions on things they want to abolish. Readers of Peace News might be surprised

PHILIPPINES ASK FOR NUCLEAR MISSILES

PRESIDENT GARCIA of the Philippines has asked the United States for American nuclear missiles. His Government leaders and chiefs of Armed Services want to acquire these weapons for use by Filipino troops rather than have them deployed at US bases on the islands.

The matter was discussed in general terms on June 15 in private talks during President Eisenhower's Pacific tour. No details of what was discussed were given, but spokesmen for both sides said "modernisation" of the Philippine Armed Forces was on the agenda.

According to unofficial sources, President Eisenhower agreed to consider the request in consultation with the State Department.

President Garcia is said to feel that the threat of Communist Chinese aggression in South-East Asia has never been greater than it is to-day. His country is just over an hour's flight by jet fighter from the Chinese mainland.

The President began campaigning for nuclear weapons about two months ago. Although his Government has embarked on ambitious development plans to raise high living standards, he maintains that the high cost of nuclear weapons is justified. He is said to be optimistic that the request will get sympathetic attention.

● At a banquet in Manila on June 15 President Eisenhower said that new weapons had made war a complete absurdity.

outside an Edinburgh cinema showing the film "On the Beach" in March were found not guilty of contravening a local Corporation Order by an Edinburgh magistrate on May 25.

A section of this Order lays down that leaflets cannot be distributed in the city unless they are political.

The case was originally heard on May 20 but was continued for several days to allow the magistrate, Bailie T. A. W. MacPherson, to consider the evidence and submissions.

Acquitting the accused, Mr. MacPherson said he had "no hesitation" in finding them not guilty.

Notting Hill venture



This literature stall in London's Notting Hill is selling race relations and pacifist pamphlets—as well as PEACE NEWS—to local people.

"Books on apartheid and racial problems, on disarmament and Gandhi, are the most in demand," Myrtle Solomon, who is helping to organise the stall, tells PN. Sales of PN were highest after Sharpeville and Aldermaston.

The stall—in the Portobello Road market every Saturday—is organised by the Porchester group of the Peace Pledge Union, which needs more volunteer salesmen.

Photo: Will Green

By Sybil Morrison

WE WANT TO LIVE

I don't want to be a hero. I want to come back.—The Soldier in THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR, by Paul Raynal.

THE French play *Le Tombe au sous l'Arc de Triomphe*, translated into English and performed here during those years of strong anti-war feeling which followed upon the First World War, is the tragic tale of a young soldier granted five days home leave before the undertaking of a front line action known to be suicidal.

He had five days; he knew he might be called back even before then, and the inability to cast off the shadow is fully revealed. It is in the long duologue with his father, which is, in itself, a tremendous indictment of war that he utters the heartfelt cry: "I don't want to be a hero. I want to come back." Better to be alive, in fact, than a dead hero.

I was strongly reminded of this play when I heard recently that one of the banners carried in the last Aldermaston march bore the slogan: "We Want To Live." Those boys of an earlier generation also wanted to live. Youth of to-day, threatened with annihilation if there should be a nuclear war, naturally cry out against death before their time, but it is not peculiar to the nuclear age, and they are not, in fact, as close to death as the youth of 1914-18.

It smelt in their nostrils then, every hour of every day and every night; death, before that, had been for the old or very ill, not for young men in the very first flush of their manhood with all life before them. Nevertheless it was there, close, inescapable, as inescapable as the hangman's hand adjusting the white cap and fixing the noose around the neck.

Youth to-day says "time is short"; youth then knew time was not for them. The tragedy of that slaughter tends to be dismissed to-day as irrelevant and unimportant in comparison to the far larger threat which threatens the whole human race, but when it comes to dying, the fact

SEVEN members of the Scottish Council for Nuclear Disarmament who distributed ban the bomb leaflets

APPEALS RESISTANCE



THE Peace Pledge Union Central London Group, which meets at Dick Sheppard House on the third Tuesday of each month, has been involved in a series of discussions on things they want to abolish. Readers of Peace News might be surprised at some of the things due for abolition!

I seem to have become involved in a series of things we want to resist. I hope that you will all have the opportunity of reading in pamphlet form the talk which I told you Douglas Clark was giving to the PPU National Council on tax resistance. It was most interesting and challenging, and pointed to the conclusion that pacifists cannot evade any part of their responsibility by tax evasion and that nothing less than increasing activity in the endeavour to convert society to one in which people will no longer want the government to provide weapons will suffice.

But talking of resistance makes me wonder whether there is a form of appeals resistance which operates when some readers see this fortnightly effort. A member has just written to say "By the way, please forgive me if I seem ungracious in saying that appeals BY POST leave me cold." I am encouraged by his adding "If I am to respond I shall do so in answer to your far more effective appeals in Peace News" . . . and he did send £1.

Does any written appeal leave you cold? Have you developed an appeals resistance to the efforts in Peace News? I only wish that I could appeal in person to each of you, but as I cannot I still hope one of these days to find the appeal which you will not resist. If you are not an appeals resister please let me know by your response to the Peace Pledge Union HQ Fund this week.

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary.

We aim at raising £1,250 this year.

By June 14 we had received £437.

Could you make it £500 by June 30?

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

the film "On the Beach" in March were found not guilty of contravening a local Corporation Order by an Edinburgh magistrate on May 25.

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The case was originally heard on May 20 but was continued for several days to allow the magistrate, Bailie T. A. W. MacPherson, to consider the evidence and submissions.

Acquitting the accused, Mr. MacPherson said he had "no hesitation" in finding them not guilty.

When he left the court, Mr. Hamnett, Secretary of the Scottish Council for Nuclear Disarmament, stated that he was delighted with the verdict and that the magistrate's decision had now given the "green light" for further distribution of handbills when the need arose.

LEADERS IN SEARCH OF A POLICY

THE following are extracts from a report despatched by The Times' Bonn correspondent on June 8:

"The West German (Opposition) Social Democratic Party is beginning to realise that it is one of the victims of the failure of the summit conference. Its foreign policy has collapsed like an old tent, from under which can be heard plaintive calls for help to the (Government) Christian Democrats (of all people), and there are now murmurs suggesting a similar collapse of its defence policy."

"The summit failure was the last blow; within a few days the Party was calling for a closing of national ranks and a bi-partisan foreign policy."

"It was suggested that the two major Parties should reach agreement on Berlin, West German membership of NATO, and defence. It was also indicated that the Social Democrats would be willing to let bygones be bygones."

"In the present mood here the offer amounts to capitulation. Whatever the future of bi-partisan policies may be . . . the Social Democrats are for most purposes without a coherent foreign policy."

★
CHAKRAVARTY RAJAGOPALACHARI, Indian statesman and follower of Gandhi's independence campaign (in which he was jailed five times) has been a promi-

PEACE NEWS—local people.
"Books on apartheid and racial problems, on disarmament and Gandhi, are the most in demand," Myrtle Solomon, who is helping to organise the stall, tells PN. Sales of PN were highest after Sharpeville and Aldermaston.

The stall—in the Portobello Road market every Saturday—is organised by the Porchester group of the Peace Pledge Union, which needs more volunteer salesmen.

Photo: Will Green.

COMMENT ON THE TIMES

QUIET POLLING IN LEBANON. VOTE-BUYING BUT NO TROUBLE REPORTED.—Headline in The Times, June 13.

nent spokesman against the cold war. Early in 1956 he joined with Vinoba Bhave in calling for India to disarm. He wrote in PEACE NEWS (March 22, 1957):

"There is only one way of getting out of the present world mess. . . Britain is great still . . . she will one day declare herself neutral in the cold war! Such a declaration will work a real revolution and bring in the dawn of a new day for the world. . . The cold war cannot be eliminated by more and more nations being invited to join it. That will only serve to intensify it. It will fade out only if, one by one, nations get out of it, and declare neutrality. It will then meet its natural death one day."

Now, in SWARAJYA (May 7), he writes:

"The only legitimate and wise course is to drop the isolationist policy which we have been hugging to our bosom, and get into closer bonds of alliance with the World Powers that are ranged against Communism. . . There is no other way, and so it must be followed, for the rehabilitation of India's prestige and gathering of moral power against the aggressor."

"The West may probably see the long-range advantage of the open entry of India, Burma and Indonesia in the Western front against Communism and welcome it . . . drop our isolationist policy as being no longer tenable and follow a positive line along with the Western anti-Communist bloc."

It smelt in their nostrils then, every hour of every day and every night; death, before that, had been for the old or very ill, not for young men in the very first flush of their manhood with all life before them. Nevertheless it was there, close, inescapable, as inescapable as the hangman's hand adjusting the white cap and fixing the noose around the neck.

Youth to-day says "time is short"; youth then knew time was not for them. The tragedy of that slaughter tends to be dismissed to-day as irrelevant and unimportant in comparison to the far larger threat which threatens the whole human race, but when it comes to dying, the fact is that numbers are completely unimportant.

★

Every normal person wants to live, and very few people face their own mortality, let alone accept it; it is this that makes propaganda based upon fear of death almost totally ineffective. No man can die more than once, and only he can die, for in that ultimate moment each one of us must stand alone. If on the day a man dies a million others die also it will be of no importance to him, and each one of those million will have died his separate death, and suffered his separate pain.

Of course "we want to live," and it is not only pacifists, nor only nuclear disarmers, who want to live; moreover, it is not only young people, though youth is particularly vulnerable to the threat of death since they naturally think, just as the First World War generation thought, that they ought to be able to live at least until the proverbially three score years and ten.

Though it is certain that the young men and women of those tragic years between 1914 and 1918 believed in their hearts they had a right to live, yet they were singularly silent about it, and it would seem that the reason for this was that they dared not speak of their dreadful knowledge. They were condemned men, "doomed, conscripted, unvictorious"; they had been deprived of hope, and those left facing the empty years without them could find no comfort but to call them heroes.

Hay they cried out "We want to live" the unimaginative majority would have been shocked and dismayed; had they cried out: "We will not kill" history itself might have been altered. Youth to-day, as in the past, wants excitement and adventure, needs to show ability and courage; WE WANT TO LIVE is understandable and natural; WE WILL NOT KILL is courageous and strong. This is a true pacifist slogan and is the right one in any age and for any generation.

Eisenhower's tour...

SYMPATHY for President Eisenhower personally in his second humiliation in little more than a month must surely be so widespread that even some people in Communist countries may well feel sorry for him. But it would need an expert in vituperation to do justice to the condemnation for crass and arrogant stupidity deserved by those on whose advice the President acts and speaks.

The whole project of a sort of triumphal tour of the Far East, including Japan in its itinerary, was undiplomatic enough to find prompt response in the possibility of a Khrushchev visit to Cuba; and if that visit takes place there is the obvious danger of the Americans being presented with a pro-Soviet demonstration on their doorstep, in the form of a friendly, and possibly enthusiastic, welcome to Mr. Khrushchev. That should have been thought of—if for no other reason than at least for the irritating effect on the Republic of China of an Eisenhower visit to Formosa.

It is inexcusable for any Foreign Affairs Ministry to be as ignorant of the mood and feelings of another country as the State Department has shown itself to be with regard to Japan. The belief (if it is real belief) that the Tokio marches and riots are the work of Communist organisers defies common sense. Of course, the Communists welcomed the opportunity and helped as much as they could. But to say that it was Communist influence which produced the threatened resignation of 125 members of the Lower House of the Diet in the endeavour to block the ratification of the revised Security Treaty, and that the same influence accounts for the continued demonstrations (in growing numbers and increasing participation by men of responsible standing) is as preposterous as the pretence that all demonstrators in Britain against nuclear armaments are Communists.

Not content with the fundamental mistake of the whole presidential tour, the State Department made matters worse, turning the issue into a personal affront to the American President, by coinciding the projected date of his visit to Tokio with the Japanese Parliament's ratification debate of the Security Treaty which, wisdom would have suggested, should have been made as inconspicuous as possible, since only the purblind could fail to know that there was widespread dislike for it.

... blunders galore

AND even that was only the beginning of a series of other blunders. First there was Mr. Hagerty's absolutely incomprehensible advice, after his own experience at Tokio, not to call the visit off; and this was followed by the nonsensical declaration that American prestige would suffer if the visit were abandoned. No one in the President's entourage seems to have realised that dignity would have been better served by an immediate declaration that the head of the United States Government

COMMENTARY

By

Roy Sherwood

down pretence that Chiang Kai-shek represents the Chinese people, and that there are too many dictators in the Western alignment to make it possible for uncommitted nations to take seriously Western eloquence about its own people's freedom and Communist enslavement?

In last week's radio link discussion it was the American commentator who was most realistic and candid in admitting the damage done to US prestige by the whole incident and the way it had been handled. The one thing he did not say, no doubt because he was not asked, was that it is not only the United States but the whole of the West that has suffered a prestige defeat.

Apart from noting this fact and the peculiar blindness which made President Eisenhower say on Saturday that the Chinese bombardment of the offshore islands was "a deliberate aggressive act" on the day of his arrival at Formosa—in plain disregard of the highly provocative nature of his own visit there—one other point calls for attention. It is, and again it was brought out by the American commentator's realism, that the whole South-East Asian political situation may become different under the impetus of the strong display of the wish for neutralism in Japan. There are few countries in the area in which neutralism is not the real wish of the people, obscured as it is in some cases by governmental attitudes not supported by the greater part of the population. If this neutralism can become widely effective I shall not be among those who will deplore it.

Algeria: negotiations?

PRESIDENT DE GAULLE has made another verbally impressive speech on peace with the Algerian insurgents in the heart-stirring terms he has used before in order to avoid embarrassing specification of details. On this occasion he has been undeservedly lucky for, strange to say in view of the coincidence of the beginning of the trial of Djamila Boupacha and its revelations of confessions forced out of "what remains of this young girl of 22 after torture," the representatives in Tunisia of the Algerian liberation forces are showing signs of readiness to negotiate on de Gaulle's terms.

Negotiation is better than the continuance of savagery on both sides in Algeria, but it is a pity that it could not come about earlier and without having furnished a considerable contribution to Afro-Asian hostility to Western ideas and influence. And it is a further pity that the more de Gaulle shows reasonability about Algeria, the less he becomes his hold on the confidence of the

African territories in which the struggle for independence has been comparatively short. The figures afford some evidence of European confidence in their popularity once independence has been attained.

Six and Seven

WITHIN Britain we are faced by a coming problem to which little attention is being paid because "we have never had it so good." It is the issue between the Euro-market and the countries associated with the United Kingdom in the question of custom tariffs and economic planning, known for short as the latent dispute between the Six and the Seven. The name is particularly apt because, apart from indicating the number of nations respectively involved, it also happens to be descriptive of the situation: the Six and the Seven are at sixes and sevens, with Britain at the present moment more inclined than before to make concessions.

But the problem is admittedly difficult and would be so even if all moves towards integration did not involve a certain measure of surrender of sovereignty. If the Euro-market of the Six—itsself still at loggerheads about some agricultural questions—becomes operative before the problem of its relationship to the Seven has been satisfactorily solved, Europe will be split into two economic camps in a division which cannot fail to have its effects on politics, foreshadowing the prospect of Western European disunity.

Our own position is complicated through Commonwealth obligations; but the fact remains that full Western European integration, if we are to come into it, must call for a far-reaching re-orientation of our economy even if the puzzle of reconciliation with Commonwealth interests is solved. There are no real indications that it is even being tackled.

Eichmann's trial

THE Argentine demand for an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council to consider the violation of her sovereignty by "the illicit and clandestine transfer of Adolf Eichmann from Argentine territory to the territory of the state of Israel" confronts the Council with a most awkward dilemma.

The Argentine demand for Eichmann's return, to which the Israeli Government has not given a formal reply, is fully justified in law. But if the Security Council were simply to rule that Eichmann should be returned the Ben Gurion Cabinet would refuse to comply.

Many people think that Eichmann should be handed over to German rather than to Israeli justice, but there is no likelihood of Israeli acceptance of this suggestion. Nor is there a simple means of compelling such acceptance or even a valid foundation for the suggestion itself, in view of the fact that the undesirable method of allowing the prosecution to be also the judge enjoys the precedent of the Nuremberg trials.

Beyond all this, no one except a fanatic Jew-hater can fail to sympathise with the Israelis' determination to bring Eichmann to trial; and whether this would ever be achieved if he were returned to Argentina must remain a matter of doubt.

...visit to Tokyo with the Japanese...
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AND even that was only the beginning of a series of other blunders. First there was Mr. Hagerty's absolutely incomprehensible advice, after his own experience at Tokio, not to call the visit off; and this was followed by the nonsensical declaration that American prestige would suffer if the visit were abandoned. No one in the President's entourage seems to have realised that dignity would have been better served by an immediate declaration that the head of the United States Government would not go where there were signs that he might not be wanted. Persevering with the intention that the visit should take place, and cancelling it only when Tokio intimated that they could not guarantee the President's safety, Mr. Eisenhower's advisers have thus provided the world, to say nothing of Moscow and Peking propaganda, with a striking example of the hollowness of their claim of a free association of genuinely democratic peoples united in defence against the threat of Communist aggression.

How many more times will they have to be told that the Soviets' struggle for the supremacy of Communism has long since shifted to the economic field, that the growth of eventual military danger from China stands no better chance of prevention than by abandoning the upside

...impressive speech on peace...
 ...agents in the heart-stirring terms he has used before in order to avoid embarrassing specification of details. On this occasion he has been undeservedly lucky for, strange to say in view of the coincidence of the beginning of the trial of Djamila Boupacha and its revelations of confessions forced out of "what remains of this young girl of 22 after torture," the representatives in Tunisia of the Algerian liberation forces are showing signs of readiness to negotiate on de Gaulle's terms.

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After colonialism

ACCORDING to a Belgian official at Leopoldville about one quarter of the European population has left the Belgian Congo since the country's coming independence was announced early this year. Twelve months ago there were more than 100,000 European residents there, now there are less than 80,000; and a spokesman of the Belgian air line has pointed out that it is carrying to Brussels 16,000 more passengers this year, between April and July, than in the same period of 1959. A vastly increased import of aviation petrol is needed from Kenya to satisfy the airlift requirements. Yet this is one of the

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World War III

MR. WATKINSON'S declaration that the West will reply by nuclear weapons to any large-scale attack by conventional weapons does more than to sweep away the remnants of pious declarations, repeated many times, that we would never be the first to use nuclear weapons. It also makes absolutely certain that war, if it comes, is bound to become nuclear. For the Russians, having taken due note of Mr. Watkinson's announcement, could never be so mad as to expose themselves to nuclear "defence" for a conventional attack. Obviously and absolutely certainly they would therefore—were they to attack at all—do so by nuclear bombardment.

Old policy, new price

THE Defence Bill authorising expenditure of \$40,515,000,000 (£14,470,000,000) was passed by the U.S. Senate on June 17 by 85 votes to nil.

The sum exceeded President Eisenhower's recommendations by about \$1,250,000,000 and the House of Representatives' recommendation by more than \$1,000,000,000.

The Democratic leader, Senator Lyndon Johnson, said the Bill would enable the next President "to act from strength in dealing with the Russians."

A Khrushchev reply

MR. KHRUSHCHEV has replied to a recent letter from the Chairman of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Canon Collins.

According to a Tass report last Sunday Canon Collins had asked Mr. Khrushchev to give a pledge that Russia would not be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Prime Minister's reply indicated that he was not a unilateralist on this question: "The Soviet Union's position

is perfectly clear—we stand for a pledge for all nations not to use nuclear weapons first, and shall sign such an obligation ourselves the very day others do that too."

Mr. Khrushchev also said that the United States Government had planned and executed the breaking up of the Paris summit meeting.

Action on apartheid

A SPECIAL political committee of the Conference of Independent States at Addis Ababa has been called on to press for action against South Africa.

The plea came on Monday from the Pan-Africanist Congress, the African National Congress, the South-West African National Union and the South African Indian Congress.

Measures advocated were: a boycott of goods, economic sanctions, a denial of landing rights to South African aircraft,

refusal to handle South African cargoes, and action to relieve South Africa of its mandate over South-West Africa.

The petitioners stated that their organisations had gone underground, from where they were "continuing to operate on a national scale."

Made in a panic

MANUFACTURERS have begun exporting goods without the "Made in South Africa" label, a spokesman for the Exporters' Association of South Africa said in Johannesburg on June 14.

The practice was "considerable" and resulted from requests from customers in foreign countries, the spokesman was reported by *Reuter*.

Prison sentences in Spain of seven years and three years were given to two men in

Barcelona on June 13 for "making insulting references" to Franco.

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REVOLUTION BY DEGREES

IT is common for American universities to award degrees to various outstanding citizens—including businessmen who may later make contributions to the university. This is known as “building a university by degrees.” Revolutions, of course, cannot be built by awarding degrees, but they may be achieved by using “degrees” in a somewhat different sense, as was shown in New York City on May 3.

Readers of *Peace News* have long since read Jim Peck's excellent story on the massive demonstration against Civil Defence in New York, a demonstration where 1,000 persons gathered in City Hall Park to protest against the compulsory Civil Defence drills, with at least 500 remaining in the Park after the police ordered them to leave, under threat of arrest. (In fact, technically, all 500 were placed under arrest, but owing to a severe shortage of police vans, only 26 were picked up and many of us, including the writer, were cheated of the “glory” of being jailed.) In addition well over 1,000 students in High Schools and Colleges throughout the New York City area protested against the drills.

The important thing about the demonstration is the new technique which the pacifists used—a technique that can be used, I am sure, on other occasions both in the US and in England. The first protest against Civil Defence in New York was in 1955 and was entirely a “pacifist witness.” (Except, let it be noted, for one old Italian whose profession was shining shoes, who was merely getting a drink of water in the Park and was caught up by mistake when the arrests were made. By one of those bitter-sweet ironies of law he was listed first in the indictment and the charge in court was “The People of New York against Rocco Parilli, et al.” Nothing could have made it clearer that while the pacifists had thought it was a private war between themselves and the State, the way the charge was drafted, listing an aged and innocent bystander, Rocco Parilli, at the head of the list, the real struggle—even if the city remained largely unaware of it—was between the State and all the millions of Rocco Parillis in New York City, quite ordinary citizens, victims of foolish laws and potential victims of mass destruction.)

Each year since 1955 there has been a demonstration. And each year it has been a handful of pacifists led by *The Catholic Worker* and those wonderful spirits, Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy, who marched themselves down to the Park while all the city lay silent except for the insane whining of the sirens. They were a small group which walked about with posters proclaiming the madness of Civil Defence while their fellow citizens scurried into

doorways, basements and bars, to seek imaginary shelter against an imaginary Bomb.

Each year they were arrested. Sometimes they got a sentence that was light, once they served a full month. But always this group had been a witness for peace, for sanity. Each year there in the Park, in the warmth of early spring, while the city fled in fear, hid in silence, this band of the faithful had held the fort of reason against the sirens and against the pomposity of the Civil Defence officials, each wearing his foolish little “CD” armband to mark him, like some banded rooster, as the property and the agent of the State.

Each year, that is, but this year. Because this year some of us who are not *Catholic Worker* anarchists, but are more political in our views thought it would be a good thing to turn this handful into a mass demonstration. But when the possible penalty that can be meted out by the State, for refusing to take shelter in its “mock air raids,” is “a year in prison and/or a \$500 fine,” how can you get a large group of people to take the necessary risk?

We decided that a large group could be gathered if we made it possible for people

Civil Defence, poured into the Park. Norman Mailer had announced before the demonstration that he was prepared to go to jail. He was joined in the Park by other writers, Dwight Macdonald, Kay Boyle and Nat Hentoff. And, of course, once there were hundreds upon hundreds of people milling around in the Park, a sense of solidarity sprang up. People who had planned to leave the moment the siren sounded decided to remain until the police ordered them to go. And hundreds who had planned to remain only until the police ordered them to go decided to stay and be arrested. (In fact, by the time the token arrests were made, those of us who had organised the demonstration were so

solidly surrounded by people who decided, at the last minute, to stay and defy the police that only one or two of the leaders managed to get picked up!)

What inspired me was the spirit of the demonstration, proving that “discipline” often comes through action and not through long training sessions. With only a handful of “real pacifists” in the Park the whole mass of people seemed somehow to catch the spirit of loving resistance. At one point, after the order to disperse had been given and 500 of us had stood our ground, the police officer in charge stood on a park bench, waved his arm over the crowd and announced we were all under arrest. To my surprise the crowd responded with a great cheer and a wave of applause. When the police then began to make token arrests the crowd surged forward cheering and applauding each arrest as if we had won a victory.

Singing to the police

And, of course, we had. We stood there, young and old, mothers with children, college students, and bearded young saints from Greenwich Village, and we sang to

movement has done. But in many ways it was the most significant demonstration for peace we have seen in the United States in many years.

I draw two lessons from the demonstration. First, when pacifists work out a project in such a way that pacifists and non-pacifists can both take part, it is possible for the demonstration to be truly a radical protest and yet also be a mass protest. That is what I mean when I say “revolution by degrees.” Let us find ways of involving people in our action projects to *whatever degree they are able*, rather than demanding they come all the way with us or not take part at all.

The second point is one which was a lesson for me and which I feel is important for all of us. The demonstration on May 3, 1960, would not have been possible without the courage of the non-political, anarchist, absolute pacifist witness of the *Catholic Workers* over the years. They themselves could not and did not organise the mass demonstration. But without their yearly pin-prick to our conscience there would have been no symbol, nor mass demonstration. Thus again we learn that if the anarchist pacifists and the political pacifists would, once in a while, stop fighting each other over the matter of which is right, they would see that both are needed and both are right. The anarchist has no political programme and he cannot be politically effective. Political effectiveness is not his task nor his calling. But it is also true that moral values rarely originate within a political movement, subject as it is to the winds of opportunism and the pressures of compromise.

So while pointing out that the reason we had a massive demonstration this year was because some of the pacifists were prepared to act in a *political* way, any honest record of the victory of May 3 must list Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy, the *Catholic* anarchists, as the spiritual ancestors of that political triumph. Thus, ironically, a demonstration which proved all I have tried to say about the need for pacifists to act in a *political* way was also proof of the value and the unceasing need for the absolutist witness without our movement.

was "The People of New York against Rocco Parilli, et al." Nothing could have made it clearer that while the pacifists had thought it was a private war between themselves and the State, the way the charge was drafted, listing an aged and innocent bystander, Rocco Parilli, at the head of the list, the real struggle—even if the city remained largely unaware of it—was between the State and all the millions of Rocco Parillis in New York City, quite ordinary citizens, victims of foolish laws and potential victims of mass destruction.)

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Each year, that is, but this year. Because this year some of us who are not Catholic Worker anarchists, but are more political in our views thought it would be a good thing to turn this handful into a mass demonstration. But when the possible penalty that can be meted out by the State, for refusing to take shelter in its "mock air raids," is "a year in prison and/or a \$500 fine," how can you get a large group of people to take the necessary risk?

We decided that a large group could be gathered if we made it possible for people to participate in different "degrees." Thus we issued a call to all of those in New York, pacifists, socialists, Quakers, liberals, etc., that we thought might be opposed to Civil Defence but who had never before taken action against it. We explained that our demonstration would involve three different "degrees" of activity.

Moral support

The strongest, or final, degree of action would be refusing to take shelter even if it meant being arrested. But, we said, if you feel you cannot afford to be arrested, for whatever reason (and let us be slow to judge those who do not "go all the way"—there are problems involving children and family responsibilities which make it impossible for many of our supporters to afford the moral luxury of jail) then come along to the Park anyway and sit on the benches with us until the police order you to take shelter, then take shelter. But you will have made a protest and given us moral support by just coming down and sitting with us.

Finally, as the third "degree" of participation, we had in mind those more conservative citizens who felt the CD law was wrong but who do not believe in changing laws by breaking them or challenging them by direct action. To them we said come along to the Park, sit with us, and when the first siren blows you can get up and take shelter, even before the police order you to, thus you will not directly have challenged the law, but your presence in the Park will be a moral statement to the Government.

What happened, of course, is not hard to imagine. Hundreds upon hundreds of people, realising that even though they were not pacifists, and even though they were not prepared to go to jail, could still "to some degree" show their opposition to

charge stood on a park bench, waved his arm over the crowd and announced we were all under arrest. To my surprise the crowd responded with a great cheer and a wave of applause. When the police then began to make token arrests the crowd surged forward cheering and applauding each arrest as if we had won a victory.

Singing to the police

And, of course, we had. We stood there, young and old, mothers with children, college students, and bearded young saints from Greenwich Village, and we sang to the police. We sang "We Shall Not Be Moved . . . Gandhi is our leader, We shall not be moved . . . Just like a tree, standing by the water, we shall not be moved." But we also sang the songs of our own country as if they belonged to us and not to the State. It was a beautiful thing to see hundreds of demonstrators facing the police and singing "America the Beautiful" and "Battle Hymn of the Republic." It shook the police up a little, too. I doubt if they ever before had seen such cheerful criminals, applauding each arrest and singing patriotic songs.

All the while we were in the Park waiting for more police vans to be brought up there were hundreds of our friends ringing the Park. They had, at police orders, left the Park itself but they had then refused to take shelter but stood watching the strange battle being waged between our group and a baffled police force. Finally the "all clear" sounded and we gave a great cheer, knowing we had really won. The hundreds who had reluctantly left the Park to avoid arrest surged back in a great wave, shaking our hands and joining in the jubilation.

Applaus in court

Immediately afterwards there was a march to the police station to urge the freeing of the 26 arrested. On the day our friends were sentenced to five days in jail the court was packed, and having been admonished by the judge the courtroom was silent through the trial. But when sentence was finally pronounced the whole courtroom stood up as one man and applauded. The next day hundreds ringed the city jail to protest against the arrests and when, after five days, the defendants were released they were given a special party to honour their "crime." All of this, of course, is a very small thing compared to what the English peace

pressures of compromise. So while pointing out that the reason we had a massive demonstration this year was because some of the pacifists were prepared to act in a political way, any honest record of the victory of May 3 must list Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy, the Catholic anarchists, as the spiritual ancestors of that political triumph. Thus, ironically, a demonstration which proved all I have tried to say about the need for pacifists to act in a political way was also proof of the value and the unceasing need for the absolutist witness without our movement.

Little-known radical

"BERTRAM LLOYD—A Memoir and Tribute" is a memoir of an unusual man written by a friend of his, Samuel J. Looker. Lloyd (1882-1944) was a naturalist, reformer, poet, traveller, mountaineer, book-lover and humanitarian. This pamphlet provides a good insight into the mind of a little-known nineteenth century radical. (Price 2s. 6d., post 4d., from Sebastian d'Orsay, The Crescent Bookshop, 81 King St., Leicester.)

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Ghana and the liberal conscience

JOHN REX

reviews

Ghana and the New Africa, by Douglas Warner. Frederick Muller. 15s.

"YOU'VE only got to look at Ghana. How long have they had independence and democracy—and what are they doing with them? . . . If you love the bloody Kaffirs so much, why don't you go and live with them?"

Thus a white South African to Douglas Warner of the *Drum*. It has been said many times to the White liberals before, and the West African Tour when it comes is an occasion of emotional crisis. The liberal has somehow or other to come to terms both with Verwoerd's South Africa and with Nkrumah's Ghana.

Before all else Mr. Warner's book represents his attempt to resolve the problem for himself. It is quite clear where he stands on the question of settler Africa. Not only does he sum up in a few striking case histories from the files of the *Golden City Post* the true meaning of apartheid in human terms. He is also quite acute enough to understand that authors like Elsie Huxley (one of the allegedly inde-



DR. NKURUMAH'S residence at Christianbourg Castle. 'One cannot but be worried by the degree of privilege and the perquisites the CPP elite enjoy!'

market place very well. One sees the women sitting roasting plantains over a basin of coals on the verandah of a Lebanese store, or the mammy trucks hurtling over the dusty roads with their outrageously inconsequential slogan names. (My own favourite was an old bus called "God knows the truth, but He waits.")



One appreciates the powerful role played by various sorts of magic, ranging from old-fashioned ju-ju to the advice given by "Dolly" to anxious young men in the *Drum* and other papers. And one gathers something of the wonderful and very West African emancipation of the handsome

am quite convinced that Dr. Nkrumah and his colleagues see themselves as working solely for the good of and for the glory of Ghana. But the instrument through which they work is the CPP, and the CPP has given a power and a prestige and a popularity to its leaders which could easily be corrupting.

Thus the Government today prefers to trust CPP MPs with power as Regional Commissioners rather than have local government in which chiefs and the old middle class can exercise power. It prefers to have a Trade Union movement working for and under the control of the CPP, rather than one which will serve as an independent workers' mouthpiece. The National Association of Socialist Student Organisations works for the party's purposes rather than becoming the independent regenerating force which the party needs. And so on.

THE

THREE dominant issues exercise the minds of the people of Africa today. The first is political independence, of long standing in Ethiopia and Liberia, achieved in Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Togo, Tunisia, announced and awaited in the Congo, Somaliland, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, under negotiation in Tanganyika, Kenya and elsewhere.

With this goes a great upsurge of secular education, with the emergent universities in the forefront, and the "Africanisation" (to use the jargon) of responsible and administrative positions formerly held by "expatriates."

Secondly, there is the sense of Pan-Africanism, fostered diligently by Nkrumah from Ghana, in measure artificial, for there is little real unity between the peoples of the Mediterranean coast and those south of the Sahara, but a spiritual force to be reckoned with, leading to a slightly self-conscious concern with what is often called in French *négritude* and in English "the African personality."

Thirdly, there is the conflict between black and white which flares up in South Africa, smoulders in the Central African Federation and in Kenya, and is mercifully absent in the West.

Christians are a minority in Africa, a small minority. The question is: can they—will they—be a creative minority? In changing history, for good or ill, it is not numbers that could but commitment, whether it be a handful of men in a beer-cellar at Munich or a handful of men in an upper room at Jerusalem. As we look at these three challenges we can see something of the part the Christian Church is called upon to play.

First we have the situation in which new, modern, contemporary states are springing out of the old colonies. Although the Christians are a minority within these states, owing to the tremendous work of the missions in education the majority of the emergent leaders are either Christian or Christianised.

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Before all else Mr. Warner's book represents his attempt to resolve the problem for himself. It is quite clear where he stands on the question of settler Africa. Not only does he sum up in a few striking case histories from the files of the *Golden City Post* the true meaning of apartheid in human terms. He is also quite acute enough to understand that authors like Elspeth Huxley (one of the allegedly independent members of the Monckton Commission) continually distort the facts about East Africa to make the case for White supremacy there. But when all this has been said what does Mr. Warner make of Dr. Nkrumah?

His first approach to defining his attitude seems to betray an unwillingness to look too closely at Ghana's political system. He says that he proposes to write simply about "people" because "you cannot understand a nation unless you understand the people who make up the nation."

But you cannot understand it either unless you understand the things which sophisticated individuals who manipulate the people from above are trying to do, and it is unfortunate that only two complete chapters out of 15 are devoted to the Convention People's Party and its leader, Dr. Nkrumah. After all the Ghanaians themselves rate "the party" higher than this. It is the number one topic of conversation and gossip, and to give it so little space is to give a slightly distorted account even of "the people."

But when this has been said, it must be admitted that there is a great deal to write about the day-to-day life of the people who are bursting headlong into the modern world in the streets of Accra. Mr. Warner summons up the atmosphere of the sticky heat and the muddled confusion of the

*John Rex is a South African who now teaches sociology at Leeds University. He has long been active in British anti-colonial movements and attended the recent Conference on Positive Action in Accra. His recently published pamphlet, *Britain Without the Bomb*, was reviewed in last week's issue of PN.

women sitting roasting plantains over a basin of coals on the verandah of a Lebanese store, or the mammy trucks hurtling over the dusty roads with their outrageously inconsequential slogan names. (My own favourite was an old bus called "God knows the truth, but He waits.")



One appreciates the powerful role played by various sorts of magic, ranging from old-fashioned ju-ju to the advice given by "Dolly" to anxious young men in the *Drum* and other papers. And one gathers something of the wonderful and very West African emancipation of the handsome young women who dance the high life in Accra's night clubs.

It is a wonderful ebullient life and one which provides ample scope for Mr. Warner's journalistic talent. But when he goes deeper than surface impressions he is less sure of his way about. Surely the central fact about all these exotic features of West African town life is not that they are inherent in West African culture. Much more they reflect the tensions and anxieties of a people suddenly thrown into the market place. And behind that again there is the fact that this West Africa is no unspoiled native paradise, but the place where men were bought and sold in order that their labour might be exploited to fatten pious Christian Englishmen. Christianbourg Castle remains to remind Ghana of the fact.

But Christianbourg Castle is no longer a slave "factory." Nor is it the symbol of the presence of a Colonial Governor. Today it houses Kwame Nkrumah (or will do again after the Queen has slept there). What does Mr. Warner tell us about him?

Briefly, he tells us that Nkrumah has taken dictatorial powers of a kind which are disturbing to those used to British democratic traditions, but that these powers have been used to give the country a unity which it lacked before and a plan for economic development which could perhaps lift Ghana out of the squalid poverty of an underdeveloped society. One feels that Mr. Warner can't quite make up his mind about this. Is the concentration of power justifiable or does it hold great dangers in store for Ghana? By and large he seems to accept that it is justifiable.

For myself, I am impressed, as Mr. Warner is, by the boldness of the economic plan. If anything it is too bold. And I

given a power and a prestige and a popularity to its leaders which could easily be corrupting.

Thus the Government today prefers to trust CPP MPs with power as Regional Commissioners rather than have local government in which chiefs and the old middle class can exercise power. It prefers to have a Trade Union movement working for and under the control of the CPP, rather than one which will serve as an independent workers' mouthpiece. The National Association of Socialist Student Organisations works for the party's purposes rather than becoming the independent regenerating force which the party needs. And so on. One can see the case for all this, if it is a genuine popular revolution which is being accomplished.

But one cannot but be worried by the degree of privilege and the perquisites which the CPP elite enjoy. Mr. Warner saw the dangers here clearly enough when he visited Dr. Azikiwe's capital at Enugu. Are they not also there in Accra in the air-conditioned comfort of the Ambassador Hotel, in the CPP offices, in the projected casino (strictly for those with incomes over £1,500), or for that matter in the Prime Minister's third house rising up on the hills above Legon?



The old liberal conscience is tortured by these facts, as surely as the conscience of a generation of socialists was tortured by what they saw in Russia or Eastern Europe. But to deny that they are facts is simply to abandon one's liberalism. Of course it is true that apartheid means murder and slavery of a kind which is never likely to come to Ghana. But it is also true that the political system in Ghana is full of dangers for Ghana's leaders and people.

We would be less worried about this if we remembered that there is no mechanical trick which can bring a liberal or a socialist utopia into being once and for all. Liberalism like socialism is a continuing state of mind. The genuine liberal will watch Ghana with affection, because her people have won their way to some sort of freedom after an unparalleled period of imperialist brutality. But he will not expect that freedom will be maintained except through the energies, the activity and the watchfulness of Ghana's people who made the CPP and who will make their own political future.

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opportunities

This means that the Christian opportunities are almost limitless. In two fields they are particularly important. One was well put by Professor K. A. Busia a few years ago:

"The creation of the Welfare State means the assumption of wider activities and powers by those who govern. The opportunities for public dishonesty correspondingly increase. The democratic society cannot be built unless dishonesty and corruption are overcome or at least effectively curbed. The test . . . in this sphere will prove more severe than learning to work the constitutional machinery and acquire the technological competence necessary for building a democratic Welfare State. Our hope is that we will pass the test and be able to take our places as respected members of the community of nations, and make our contribution towards the peace of the world and the enrichment of human life."

Tolerance of minority opinion, and an incorrupt and independent administration—these are the great needs of the new states, and in Britain they are largely the product of the non-conformist Christian conscience.

Alongside this we have a situation in which the order of society is in rapid change. The old order was leisurely based on family solidarity, with standards none the worse because they were sometimes established by fear of chief or witch-doctor. That order has gone, at any rate in the towns.

It was replaced for a time by a sense of dynamic political purpose directed towards independence. But in many parts independence has been achieved. What then? What is to be the purpose, the directive of the new society? Christianity can supply this. Or, to put it the other and truer way,

CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN AFRICA

● FROM PAGE SIX

if Christianity be true then it is vital that the new states shall direct their life in awareness of that truth.

What, secondly, of Pan-Africanism? The churches have already come to terms with this in forming the All-Africa Church Conference, which met at Ibadan in January, 1958, under the chairmanship of Sir Francis Ibiham. Plainly, here is at once an opportunity and a danger. Pan-Africanism is good if it lifts the peoples of Africa out of their petty nationalisms into something greater and wider, but not if this last becomes a new nationalism, more fearful because more powerful, as has happened in the USA and on a smaller scale in Switzerland. Pan-Africanism is not enough, and it is just here that the Christian church which should regard the frontiers of nations and of continents as equally irrelevant can exercise a prophetic minority.

Should then the churches accommodate themselves more to local conditions? Should they, to use the language of the All-Africa Church Conference, be "indigenised"? Most people would say "Yes," but the point is in truth a difficult one. The growth of African leaderships in the church, though slow, is heartening. There is something wrong at this stage with a church run by missionaries.

commitment

It is foolish to transport to Africa those incidental aspects of European Christianity which have no intrinsic value, where there are local means of expression which can healthily be used. When all has been said in its defence, the prayer for the Queen in the Anglican liturgy links Christianity and imperialism in the minds of many who would wish to worship—and this is not as trivial a point as it sounds. We have too often picked up European Christianity and dumped it down in Africa heedlessly.

At the same time the essential point about me should be that I am a Christian, not that I am a Briton, and the essential point about my next-door neighbour not that he is a Yoruba and a Nigerian but that he is a Christian. We shall not usefully replace our too nationalistic churches by churches which express African nationalism, and we must beware that in adapting Christian practice to local traditions we

By John Ferguson

The contributor is Professor of Classics at the University College, Ibadan, Nigeria. He is a former chairman of the British Fellowship of Reconciliation and the author of THE ENTHRONEMENT OF LOVE.

Two needs ring out—commitment and prophecy. With too many of the politicians their Christianity sits lightly. It remains as a vaguely benevolent influence, but has ceased to be the centre of their lives and policies. With too many of the church folk their religion is pietistic, and lacks social and political expression.

Yet the kingdom of God storms on. Witness the message to the churches in Africa which emerged from the All-Africa Church Conference two years ago:

"We, the delegates of the first All-Africa Church Conference that has ever been held in Africa, rejoice that God has called us together and in His Name we send greetings from Ibadan in Nigeria to all the churches of Africa.

"We come from the countries of Sierra Leone, Gambia, Nigeria, of French West Africa, Liberia and Togo, the Cameroons, French Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo, Angola, South Africa, Mozambique, Egypt, Ethiopia and Madagascar, as well as other parts of the world. But though our languages are many, our reason for coming here is the same, that we love the Lord Jesus Christ and are witness to

His Gospel; that in Him we are one people whether we speak Ibo, Yoruba, Douala, English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sesuto, Portuguese, French, Kikuyu, or any other language that is spoken by the people who live in Africa. We are one in Him who was born a Jew in Bethlehem, fled from Herod into Egypt, grew up in Nazareth, died in Jerusalem, arose there and lives today in Ibadan and in every other city and village in the world that His Father created. Of this oneness in Christ we have been given such a rich experience at this Conference that not one of us is likely to forget it.

"To be here is to have abundant cause to thank God for the way that the Gospel has been brought to so many countries and to be filled with astonished joy that it has transformed the lives of so many men and women of Africa.

"In a continent where such massive events lie ahead, we thank God that the Christian Church has taken such deep root. We know there are millions who have not heard the Gospel and we accept the challenge of the evangelising of our countries, especially in the face of the danger of materialism and secularism.

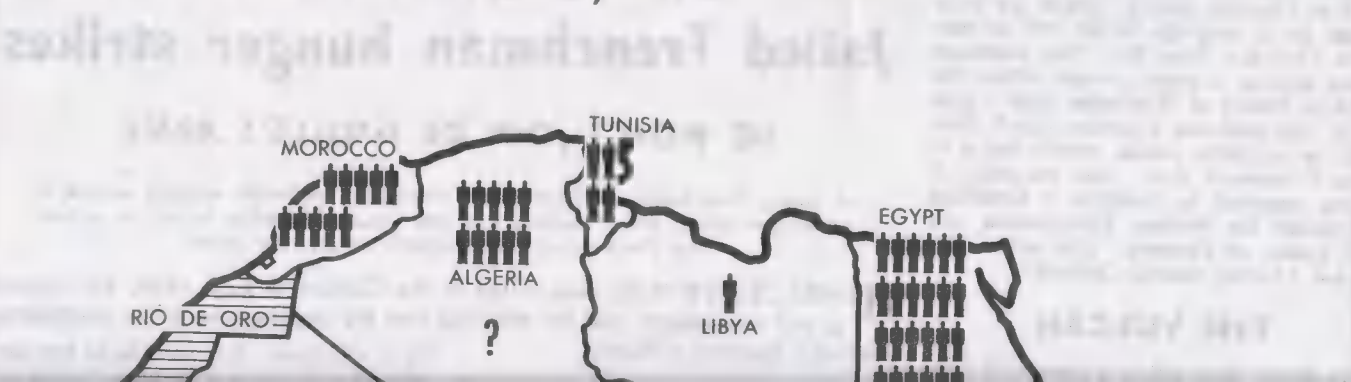
"While this experience of unity has been rich and deep, we acknowledge with penitence our many divisions which have prevented us from witnessing to our unity in Him, but this we still purpose to do with His assistance. We believe that Christ challenges us to overcome these divisions in the Church and to work for the removal of all injustice based on racial discrimination which we believe to be contrary to the will of God.

"We rejoice in the advance of African countries towards self-government and in the liberation of African energies and talents praying that they may be used for the service of Him whom we acknowledge to be the Lord of all mankind.

"The continent of Africa will see unparalleled events and changes during the rest of this century, welcomed by some, feared by others. We pray that the Christian Church of Africa will play its role as champion, teacher, counsellor and shepherd during these crucial years. We are humbly aware of our responsibilities to God and to this continent, and dedicate ourselves anew to their performance, trusting that we shall be led and supported by our fellow Christians throughout Africa and the world.

"In the name of the Father of all men, in the name of the Son who saved us all, in the name of the Holy Spirit who inspires us, we declare ourselves to be one in Christ. Amen."

Africa's Political Status by 1961



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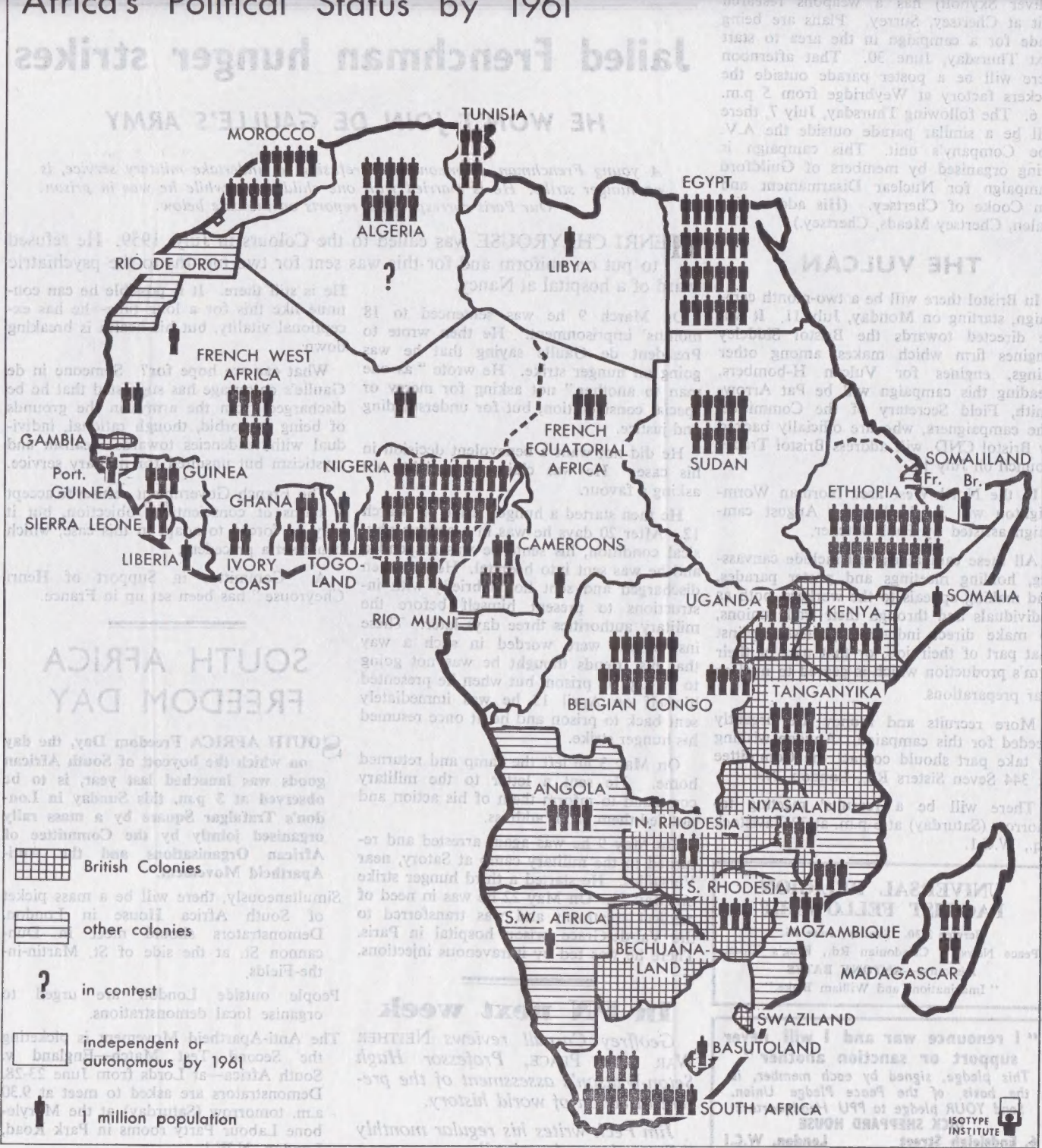
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There is need for fundamental thinking about the nature of Christian commitment and its expression in life and worship; when the commitment is there it can be worked out in particular societies.

prophecy

Thirdly, there is the agony of South Africa. Here the first need of the churches, as the All-Africa Church Conference has said, is to put their own house in order. A divided church cannot prophesy effectively to a divided world. But, please God, we must not, we dare not, wait till we are perfect before we prophesy. As Spurgeon used to say: "Grace is not spoiled by the hollow wooden spout it runs through. God did once speak by an ass to Balaam, but that did not spoil his words." "The lion has roared; who will not fear? The Lord God has spoken; who can but prophesy?" Here we thank God for the prophetic witness of Joost de Blank and others.

Above all, the church, a revolutionary body if ever there was one (which is why the Romans tried to suppress it) has the duty to demonstrate the way of changing society through a love which suffers violence but will not use it. The churches have scarcely begun to do this; it is to our shame that the politicians are ahead of us. The Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa held in Accra in April, through its Committee on the Liberation of Africa, recommended "the establishment of training centres for the effective training of patriots in non-violent positive action for carrying on the struggle to a successful end."





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Summer campaign against arms factories

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

FIRMS geared to nuclear arms production in several British towns will be the subject of an industrial campaign this summer, organised by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

The Committee says that nuclear arms production has ramifications throughout British industry wider than many people realise and "it is time that some attempt was made to demonstrate the extent of these ramifications."

The A.V.Roe Company, which manufactures the Blue Steel flying bomb and the Vulcan H-bomber (scheduled eventually to deliver Skybolt) has a weapons research unit at Chertsey, Surrey. Plans are being made for a campaign in the area to start next Thursday, June 30. That afternoon there will be a poster parade outside the Vickers factory at Weybridge from 5 p.m. to 6. The following Thursday, July 7, there will be a similar parade outside the A.V. Roe Company's unit. This campaign is being organised by members of Guildford Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Ian Cooke of Chertsey. (His address is: Galen, Chertsey Meads, Chertsey.)

THE VULCAN

In Bristol there will be a two-month cam-



Jailed Frenchman hunger strikes

HE WON'T JOIN DE GAULLE'S ARMY

A young Frenchman, imprisoned for refusing to undertake military service, is on hunger strike. He is married with one child, born while he was in prison. Our Paris correspondent reports on the case below.

HENRI CHEYROUSE was called to the Colours in July, 1959. He refused to put on uniform and for this was sent for two months to the psychiatric ward of a hospital at Nancy.

He is still there. It is possible he can continue like this for a long time—he has ex-

This is the miserable Algerian quarter of Paris where 18 people held a week-long fast against internment camps. The tent was the headquarters of the non-violent demonstrators. To the right and in the background are the shacks and tin can huts in which the local people live. The fast—reported in PN last week—was not only against the camps (for anyone suspected of being in sympathy with the Algerian people's demand for independence) but also against the violence of

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THE VULCAN

In Bristol there will be a two-month campaign, starting on Monday, July 11. It will be directed towards the Bristol Siddeley Engines firm which makes, among other things, engines for Vulcan H-bombers. Leading this campaign will be Pat Arrow-smith, Field Secretary of the Committee. The campaigners, who are officially backed by Bristol CND, will address Bristol Trades Council on July 14.

In the North-West area Norman Worm-leighton will be leading an August campaign assisted by Paul Butcher.

All these campaigns will include canvassing, holding meetings and poster parades, and making appeals to the workers, both as individuals and through their trade unions, to make direct industrial protests against that part of their job, or that part of their firm's production which is geared to nuclear war preparations.

More recruits and money are urgently needed for this campaign. Anyone wishing to take part should contact the Committee at 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4.

There will be a recruits' meeting tomorrow (Saturday) at 6 p.m. at 32 Tavistock Sq., W.C.1.

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On March 9 he was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. He then wrote to President de Gaulle saying that he was going on hunger strike. He wrote "as one man to another," not asking for mercy or special consideration, but for understanding and justice.

He did not want a benevolent decision in his case. He was claiming a right, not asking a favour.

He then started a hunger strike on March 12. After 20 days he was in a serious physical condition, his sentence was suspended and he was sent into hospital. He was then discharged and sent home briefly with instructions to present himself before the military authorities three days later. These instructions were worded in such a way that his friends thought he was not going to be kept in prison, but when he presented himself on April 15 he was immediately sent back to prison and he at once resumed his hunger strike.

On May 3 he left the camp and returned home. He sent a letter to the military command to inform them of his action and notified them of his address.

On May 9 he was again arrested and returned to the military camp at Satory, near Versailles. He started a third hunger strike on May 11. On May 22 he was in need of medical treatment and was transferred to the Val-de-Grace prison hospital in Paris. There he was fed by intravenous injections.

In PN next week

Geoffrey Carnall reviews NEITHER WAR NOR PEACE, Professor Hugh Seton-Watson's assessment of the present direction of world history.

Jim Peck writes his regular monthly "Letter from America."

He is still there. It is possible he can continue like this for a long time—he has exceptional vitality, but his health is breaking down.

What can we hope for? Someone in de Gaulle's entourage has suggested that he be discharged from the army on the grounds of being a morbid, though rational, individual with tendencies towards idealism and mysticism but unsuited for military service.

The French Government refuses to accept a status of conscientious objection, but it may be forced to adapt in this case, which could set a precedent.

A "Committee in Support of Henri Cheyrouse" has been set up in France.

SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY

SOUTH AFRICA Freedom Day, the day on which the boycott of South African goods was launched last year, is to be observed at 3 p.m. this Sunday in London's Trafalgar Square by a mass rally organised jointly by the Committee of African Organisations and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Simultaneously, there will be a mass picket of South Africa House in London. Demonstrators should meet in Duncannon St. at the side of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

People outside London are urged to organise local demonstrations.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is picketing the Second Test Match—England v. South Africa—at Lords from June 23-28. Demonstrators are asked to meet at 9.30 a.m. tomorrow (Saturday) at the Marylebone Labour Party rooms in Park Road, London, N.W.1.

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Photo: Guy Aguiraud.

Chessman film

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

"JUSTICE and Caryl Chessman," a documentary reconstruction of Chessman's story, is showing at the State Cinema, Leytonstone, from this Sunday, June 26, for seven days. Taking part in the film are many people who were closely involved with Chessman including his lawyers and one of the 11 women who was on the jury that originally sentenced Chessman.

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